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TO RESTORE THE TOOLS THE AIM OF SOCIALISM

SCIENTIFIC DUTY—NO SCHEMES

Socialists Should Use Every Effort to Promote Combination among small Farmers and Boldly Advocate a Living Wage for the Agricultural Proletariat

Comrade Hood has struck the right note when he says our aim should be to show the farmer how much he has to gain by Socialism.

Our farmers—I have lived and worked side by side with them, East and West—are not wanting in intelligence, and in the long winter nights have more time to read and think than the city politicians ever have, and I believe that many of them—even landowners—will take up their places in Labor's Political Army.

But while this is true, our Socialism is scientific, not utopian, i. e., it rests upon facts, and the fact is the land of the small farmer is the last tool or instrument of production to manifest such collective tendencies as to indicate its ripeness for socialization.

As John Ruskin long since said, "the tool should belong to him who can use it." Now the aim of Socialism is to restore the tools to those who can use them, to those whom the development of capitalist production has expropriated. This task, as a matter of historic fact, comes first, and has precedence over schemes to relieve the situation of the not yet fully expropriated, such as the small farmers. The latter can and do use their tool, land, but they also own it, and no Socialist wishes to rob them of it.

But while we do not wish to expropriate them, neither do we believe their expropriation by capitalists to be an absolute economic necessity, though it is a probability.

In general property passes through three stages—individual ownership by the user—capitalist ownership by the exploiter—collective ownership by society. It is conceivable that our small farmers by wise and prudent action can bridge over the slough of despond of capitalist ownership, and pass directly from individual ownership, over the bridge of co-operation, to collective ownership.

The Belgian peasants are attempting this abridgement of the economic evolution, and have achieved some signal successes.

But Socialists, whose sole aim is the return of the tools to those who can use them, cannot turn from this scientific duty to wrest the tool, land, from the hand of the small farmer who can and does use it.

It will be seen that all this only applies to the small farmer who works his own farm. Scientific Socialists have no hesitancy in advocating the prompt expropriation of the large capitalist farmer, on whose lands the expropriation of the worker is already an accomplished fact.

But the small farmer must have one of the two fates. Either he will (1) be expropriated by the capitalist exploiter, who will, in his turn, be expropriated by collective society, or (2) he will effect the concentration of capital made requisite by modern methods of tillage, by voluntary co-operation with his fellows, and thus voluntarily prepare himself and his land for complete socialization.

The second alternative, though it is exceedingly unlikely to occur, is far the more desirable, and Socialists will do all in their power to favor it, i. e., they will use every effort to promote combination and co-operation among the small farmers, but they will never expropriate the small farmers against their will.

This is quite enough on the points on which Comrade Hood and I differ. But there is one subject on which I am sure we can agree.

I refer to the agricultural proletariat—the most wretched of all the wage slaves. Let us boldly advocate a minimum living wage for them. There should be no difficulty in rallying the whole class of wage paid farm laborers under the banner of Socialism. The small farmer, East or West, is the hardest of all taskmasters, and while we are not ready to expropriate him, we are ready and determined to put an end to his tyrannous exploitation of "his help."

The large class of share-farmers or renters are also true proletarians, completely divorced from their most necessary instrument of production, land, and have, in the language of the Manifesto, "nothing but their chains to lose, and a world to gain."

Let us work unceasingly to swell our conquering army with recruits from these two huge classes of the oppressed—classes made ready for us by the economic revolution already accomplished.

Elise Reclus, who proved his devotion to the workers, by serving in the ranks as a common soldier in the Commune of Paris, and enduring manfully a fearful imprisonment afterwards, has written one of the most beautiful classics in all Socialist propagandist literature, under the title, "To My Brother, the Peasant." It is quite short and I hope to get time to translate it and send it you to run in two numbers of The Herald. With this in view I will say no more now, but leave the rest for Reclus to say far better than I can.

Robt. Russ LaMonte.

Socialism and Majority Rule

Permit me to chip in a few remarks in the discussion raised by the article of Comrade Heath on the initiative and referendum. The topic is decidedly a very timely one, as it is most certain that the demand for the initiative and referendum will occupy a prominent place in the next national platform of the Democratic party. It is, of course, a short-sighted policy to reject a proposition which we have formerly favored, on the ground that it has become popular with our opponents. But there are deeper considerations why we Socialists should not wax too enthusiastic over the initiative and referendum.

The initiative and referendum are claimed to be the most perfect expression of majority rule. Should we Socialists concur by majority rule? Socialism is the economic platform of the wage-working class. Are the wage-working class in the majority in any country of the modern civilized world, except perhaps in England? In Germany, the nursery of the modern Socialist movement, the wage-working class is but a minority of the entire people. The same is probably true of this country. To advocate majority rule means, then, for a Socialist to make the attainment of even palliative measures for the partial betterment of the condition of the working class wholly dependent upon the will of the middle class, whose interests are opposed to those of the proletariat.

Majority rule is nowadays accepted as a "self-evident" truth, which no longer calls for any reason or justification. But if we go back to the founders of the Democratic doctrine, we shall find it to be justified solely on the ground of expediency. The opinion of the majority, or even of the whole world, cannot outweigh the opinion of one Copernicus or Galileo. All through history the leaders of thought, the advanced thinkers, were ever in the minority. When finally the minds of the majority are won over to an idea, it has ordinarily long since ceased to be the advanced thought of the generation.

The voters of this country are almost evenly divided among the two "parties of their daddies." The periodical "land-slides," so called, are usually produced by a small minority of a million voters or so, who vote independently of party lines, swing the political see-saw now to one side, then to the other. It is this small minority of thinking men who practically lead the country. What we want is not such much to fortify the unthinking majority as to assert the rights of the thinking minority. Minority representation, which was first advocated by J. S. Mill, not majority rule, should be the cardinal plank of every Socialist platform.

I. A. Hourwich.

New York.

Misery in "Merrie England"

I want to see men and women, as well as children, leading happy and useful lives, in all countries. I am ashamed when I see a poor woman at the wash-tub, or the anvil, or the sewing-machine, or when I see children famishing in the gutter, or girls with paint upon their faces, walking under the lamps. But as for the empire, I really do not care a rush for it. I am sick and weary of those unclean shams—our British "morality, virtue, greatness." Common honesty, common justice, common love for my fellow creatures—these are as high as my common nature will let me soar. Our empire was built on blood, pillage, chicanery, mixed with some cant about the "word of God." I want none of it. When shall we cease to rob the men and degrade the women of England?—Robert Blatchford.

Here comes the Boston Post disturbing the dreams of the prosperity penny-a-liners with the bold declaration that we have more hands than work can be found for. And McHanna has been saying in Europe that there was work for everybody and not a man was idle in the United States. It must be said, however, that every man who values his reputation for telling the truth agrees with the Post.

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause. What are you doing? Are you bearing your share of the burden? Your share is to get at least one new subscriber to THE HERALD every week.

ECONOMIC EDUCATION THE GREATEST NEED

LIFT UP BANNER OF SOCIALISM

Relation of Referendum to Higher Social Life and the Need of a Party Organization for the Widespread Diffusion of Socialist Principles

A few words may not come amiss in regard to the practicability of certain proposed measures which, since the Buffalo conference, have aroused increasing interest. I refer to the initiative and referendum that is advocated by many reformers as the sovereign panacea of industrial ills.

Certainly it seems to be the very essence of Democracy that all questions should be referred to the people before they are finally acted upon by their representatives; that the people should be the chief tribunal to whom all matters of importance should be referred before their enactment into laws; and also that they should have the right to initiate measures deemed essential to their own welfare and that of the country and submit them to legislative bodies for their consideration and enactment. And under a different state of affairs, where the level of intelligence among the voters is higher than it is today, and where the knowledge of economics and sociology forms part of a man's education, the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate would be the necessary factors in an ideal form of government.

But the trouble is that those who advocate these measures without reference to other and more important ones do not take into account the ineligibility of the worker to the task imposed upon them—that of acting as umpire and authority in matters which, owing to the deplorable conditions surrounding them, they are as a body incapable of fully apprehending. A judge is elected to office because of his presumed fitness to properly discharge its functions; a people invested with the supreme power of being their own legislators, and to determine the constitutionality of their own law-making acts, should possess similar qualifications. Without these such political power becomes destructive to the nation and to those wielding it.

As an instance of the unfitness of the people to wisely legislate and direct the course of government, we have but to turn to the presidential election of 1896. In that great conflict, which will go down to history as the opening struggle between democracy and plutocracy, the referendum was in full operation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Momentous questions, the most momentous since freedom and slavery struggled together in 1860, and African slavery was destroyed, were submitted to the people and the people responded by placing in power a party that, as the stronghold of monopoly and of moneyed aristocracy, is by its very nature hostile to the interests of working classes. They voted for their own enslavement, for the strengthening of conditions that would lead to imperialism; they voted for the success of the money power that crushes out every attempt to bring about better social conditions; they voted for the triumph of plutocracy.

In vain did the ablest men of the country exhaust rhetoric and language in the elucidation of the issues upon which the people were called to adjudicate. It is not the acquisition of more political power that the people at this time need, but ability to use the power they already possess. The social and industrial conditions that fetter the brains of men and incapacitate them from thinking, save in the most rudimentary way, must first be changed before they can become the arbiters of their own fate and the law givers of a nation.

What is needed is the economic education of the toilers and the widespread diffusion of socialistic principles. The people must be led to see that the evils under which they suffer—evils that militate against life, prosperity and happiness—are not the result of any particular form of government, but inhere in the competitive industrial system, which enables one man, or a body of men, to rule over others, and that the point of attack must be the competitive capitalistic organization and the obtaining control of the means of production and distribution. In other words, the governing power must be transferred from those who represent the aristocratic element to those who represent the popular, namely, the people.

To effect these reforms, there must be a new party to voice the synonym for purity of action and purpose, a party that stands for this new social development that will eventuate in a new civilization; a party that will hold aloft the banner of Socialism, and will not be afraid of the word—a party that will be to this age and this work what the Re-

publican party was to those who were struggling for the abolition of African slavery. We will not put the new wine of a higher social life into old organizations of political trickery and corruption. This new party that is to work for the elevation of humanity we believe already exists in the Social Democratic party of America.

A conference of reformers is not needed to throw light upon social problems, or to point out the path of action. Clear as the noon-day sun is that path today, and the issues equally clear and plain. The destructive influence of competition, its culmination in monopoly—another name merely for despotic power; the rapid development of trusts; the all-controlling and all-pervading power of money in politics, the rise and development of an imperial foreign policy—that reflects the imperialism of wealth. All these things unerringly point to the competitive system as the malefic force that must be overthrown before the people can gain the rights and privileges to which they are entitled.

Imogene C. Fales.
Bensonhurst, N. Y.

Proletarian and Farmer

In his interesting letter in a recent number of The Herald, Mayor Chase has this to say of the farmers' demands: "I believe it to be unscientific and unwise to make any special plea for any special class." And he adds that we might just as well make a special plea for the brewers, the haters, the drummers, etc. As this seems to be a favorite view with opponents of the farmers' program, permit me a few words. The reason why the framers of our platform made a special case of the farmer class is because they of all classes present the one and single exception to the logic of the socialistic contention. In all other fields concentration and expropriation are going on just precisely as Marx and the early fathers of scientific Socialism predicted. The postulates of Socialism are that exploitation is producing two classes in society—a small, wealthy and all-powerful rich class, which is constantly growing smaller and more powerful, and an increasingly large proletarian class, growing poorer and poorer. This we all know to be so, but the Socialists of all countries have found that there is one exception to this rule, namely, the farmer. While concentration and expropriation march remorselessly on in all other lines, the agricultural class remains at a standstill, or even moves in an opposite direction.

We may pretend not to notice this, or may try to persuade ourselves that there is no difference between the farmers as a class and the class of industrial wage-workers, but this will not meet the problem as such problems should be met. Too many American Socialists believe Socialism to be a thing of hard fixed rules. This is due to the teaching of the dogmatic, phrase-parroting Socialists who dominated the American movement before the advent of the Social Democracy. Their pamphlets and reprints represented petrified Socialism and have done great mischief. This sort of thing has led many Socialists to blind themselves to any facts not in agreement with their catechism.

It is to this unprogressive influence that the present opposition to the farmers' program must be charged. Still, it is a fact that must also be reckoned with, and so, until American Socialists can unlearn some of their dogmatism, it may even be wise to drop the farmers' demands.

At the same time it is a duty to study and discuss the agrarian problem, and I wish our members would take under consideration the following fact, which the last government census shows to be unimpeachable:

Concentration is not going on in the farming districts. The size of the average farm in 1850 was 203 acres. In 1890 the average farm comprised 137 acres.

The average farmer ekes out a precarious existence, yet his class is not disappearing, as is the case with the small city employers. To class the farmer with the latter is simply to exhibit ignorance of conditions as they actually are. The wage-worker on the farm only remains until he gets married. Then he sets up for himself just as the worker under the old guild system used to do. His employer can hardly be called his economic enemy. Moreover, statistics show that the farm hand is decreasing as a class. This cannot be said of the city laborer.

Wayfare.

Millerand's path in the official life of France is not strewn with roses. Before entering the Cabinet he was editorial writer and lawyer for the People, a Socialist paper. Recently the People published an article which Gallifet considered disparaging to the army, and brought suit. The paper at once insisted that Millerand defend its interests, but the Minister was obliged to decline to do the great indignation, it is said, of his former associates.

WHO PAYS THE TAXES WORKERS OR DRONES

THE WORKING CLASS BURDEN

Labor, Combined with the Means of Production, Produces All Wealth—Hence, the Working Class Furnish Everything Wherewith Taxes are Paid

This question has given rise to an animated controversy between the official editors of the S. L. P. and those of the Socialist German daily, the New York Volkszeitung, the former contending that the capitalists and the latter that the workingmen pay the taxes.

For the benefit of those readers who have but recently entered our movement I wish to show briefly the stand taken on this question by modern Socialism the world over.

It is self-evident that labor combined with the means of production produces all wealth; that the capitalists as mere owners of the means of production and as persons living on the labor of others do not produce any wealth; that taxes consist of a part of the wealth produced by workingmen; hence that the workingmen furnish everything wherewith taxes are paid.

The officials of the "Scientific" party further support the assertion, that the workingmen have no interest in direct or indirect taxation of any kind, by blindly arguing that wages adjust themselves to the taxation imposed upon workingmen without any struggle on their part. In support of this stand they quote incoherently Marx and Engels, where these founders of modern Socialism treat of the value and not of the price of labor-power. However, this constantly recurring confusion about value and prices does not constitute their only mistake.

In the "Letter Box" of the People of July 9, 1899, I find the following paragraph, which illustrates the "uncompromising" dictation not less than the "rock-scientific" reasoning of its editor:

"S. Meriden, Conn.—When you meet that kind of a 'German Socialist' you meet a caricature both of the German and the Socialist—a degenerate of both. To reason with such a man is impossible; to argue Marx and Engels with him and show him that the party's position is strict Marxism and his position is hostile to that, is a pure waste of time; such fellows are mentally incapable of drawing conclusions. But there is this that you can do: just quote and write down to such a man, in his own native German, the following passage from Engels:

"Taxes! To the bourgeoisie, a matter of great, to the working class, a matter of very little concern; that which the workingman pays in taxes goes, in the long run, into the cost of production of labor-power, and, accordingly, must be borne by the capitalist."

"Quote this to him: 'It demands no power of synthesis on his part, and can't be dodged. We know quite a few such 'German Socialists' in town who are breaking their teeth over this lie. Try the experiment on your man.'"

The above words of Engels are cited from his work on the "Dwelling Question." Only to novices it may be necessary to explain that Engels called the taxation-question of very little concern to the working class in comparison only with the many questions of much greater concern, specially at the time when he wrote that, and, on the other hand, of very great importance to the capitalists, because their chief tool and prop, their government, cannot exist without taxes, and what have we to think of Engels' words: "That which the workingman pays in taxes goes, in the long run, into the cost of production of labor-power, and, accordingly, must be borne by the capitalist." Do they support our friend's assertion that wages adjust themselves to the taxation imposed upon workingmen without any determined assistance on their part?

Yes, if you, like the editors of the "People" and of the "Vorwarts," overlooked the words, "in the long run," and their significance, and besides reason like these New York friends, that the commodity, labor-power, is exactly as helpless as any other commodity; that the former's price (wage) is regulated like that of any other commodity, exclusively by its cost of production (average social-labor time) and by the law of demand and supply (market conditions).

Engels evidently took it for granted like any person believing in progress, that the workingmen were not made of iron, wood or straw, and would not patiently suffer to have their standard of life reduced by taxation, but that they would fight successfully for the maintenance and promotion of their standard of life, thereby compelling "in the long run" the capitalists to bear the taxation by a proportionate increase in wages.

It stands to reason that without a decided stand of the workingmen against hurtful taxation, their wages would soon be taxed below the mark of subsistence, and that, in such a case, retrogression into barbarism, not progress to Socialism, would be in order.

The workingmen are not satisfied, as our New York friends seem to think, to wait till sufficient numbers of them have starved out of sight and till "sooner or later" or "in the long run," after the disappearance of the "reserve army" by

(Continued on page 4)

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THE REFERENDUM

All the branches not having acted upon the propositions, submitted for a referendum vote, the time for taking the vote has been extended to September 1. The propositions, upon which members will vote "yes" or "no," are as follows:

- (1) That the present constitution be continued and remain operative until the next national convention.
- (2) That the "Demands for Farmers" be eliminated from the platform.
- (3) That the next national convention be held at Indianapolis, Ind.
- (4) That the time for holding the convention be the first Tuesday in March, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.
- (5) That the following be the basis of representation: Each branch in good standing and organized at least 45 days prior to holding of the convention shall be entitled to one delegate; provided that branches having more than 50 members shall be entitled to an additional representative for each additional 50 members or major portion thereof, and provided further, that no delegate shall represent more than one branch, that of which he is a member.

THE CLEVELAND STRIKE

The strike of the street railway men at Cleveland has aroused great public interest in that city, and a boycott, in which large numbers of merchants and small business men figure quite prominently, has been organized against the Big Consolidated Railway Company. The cause of this strike was the refusal of union men to work with non-union men employed during the first strike, which began June 18, and was settled by the company agreeing to reduction of hours and the re-employment of 80 per cent of the old employees. The strike has been maintained by varying incidents, including the use of dynamite (though some of the dynamite stories have been pure "fakes"), since July 16, and is one of the longest of its kind on record.

While the general public has shown that its sympathies are unmistakably with the men, a fact which in itself constitutes some justification for their attitude, an incident occurred the other day which shows the kind of help organized labor gets from some of its alleged friends. The grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, P. M. Arthur by name, was reported to the strikers for riding on Big Consolidated cars in disregard of the boycott. When asked if he patronized the cars this head of a labor organization replied: "Of course I do. I ride on them every day. Do you suppose I am going to walk three miles downtown when the cars pass my door? Of course I am not. This agitation and boycott are utterly ridiculous." There is some truth in the statement that the strike is ridiculous, but Mr. Arthur did not have it in mind. It is that the laboring class of this country have the power to settle their grievances and put an end to their wrongs at the ballot box. They will never accomplish their emancipation by the strike alone or the strike plus boycott. They must seize upon the powers of government.

So after all the real question is what is this agitation for, and what is it likely to lead to? It appears to be aimed at the Big Consolidated Company alone and not at the system of which that company is a mere illustration. The purpose of it seems to be simply to injure the company; but why that should be done is past finding out, since the rational view is that any company having special privileges to plunder the people will make use of all means, legitimate and illegitimate, to prolong its privileges and its power. The rational view also brings into prominence the utter disregard of corporations for the public interests and must suggest to every intelligent mind that the only possible way to guard those interests and get justice done to the working class is to adopt the program of the Social Democrats and agitate on that line until capitalism falls and Socialism takes its place.

THIS IS PROGRESS

The expected has happened; that queer outfit of "brothers" known as the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" is face to face with the prospect

of being reduced from an organization proudly boasting of its intelligence and independence—a sort of aristocratic guild or privileged order—to the level of ordinary workingmen. Seldom in their history have they been identified with the struggles of their fellowmen in other crafts, and their "brotherhood" has been more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of labor. But as Socialists contend, all progress is a product of the developing process of society; the sentimentalism of a superficial brotherhood must disappear before the onward march of modern invention and mechanical industry. The fiction that any single body of men engaged in the service of capitalism can maintain an attitude aloof from all the rest, is giving way before the stern fact that the processes of economic change sooner or later affect all men.

The strike of the Brooklyn street railway men afforded the locomotive engineers employed on the elevated line another opportunity to declare that they do not believe in "sympathetic strikes," which is the same as if they said, "We are well paid and do not believe in helping others." It seems never to have occurred to these fellows that the time would inevitably come when they would ask for help. However that may be, the strike at Brooklyn was no sooner lost than the haughty and exclusive "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" was "up against it" in the shape of a reduction of wages from \$3.50 to \$2 and \$2.25 a day. At the same time Arthur's aristocrats lost the title of "locomotive engineers" and became plain "motormen" by the substitution of electric power for steam.

The economic truth that history is the sum total of changes in the powers of production will force home upon the B. of L. E. the lesson which they have failed to learn, that no labor organization is able to stand alone against the new conditions which modern economic changes are inaugurating. And the locomotive engineers will not alone be humbled; every class and division of society will be brought to a recognition of the fact that the capitalist system of industry and private mastery over the social powers of production is but one phase of humanity's progress to freedom and the socialization of the means of production and distribution.

Science does not halt before organized sentimentalism, though it be "well paid."

CURRENT NOTES AND COMMENT

Four hundred men are still held as prisoners in the vile Standard Oil stockade at Wardner, Idaho, under the muzzle of Federal rifles. Four have died in this modern Andersonville from the effects of cruel treatment and unhealthy conditions.

"Merlin," whose contributions to The Herald are so much enjoyed every week by its readers, gives us this week a "Mixture" of three short tales in rhyme. They are not manufactured yarns but authentic life stories. When canvassing for The Herald call attention to "Merlin's Mixture."

The government is engaged in condemnation proceedings, against the Spring Valley Water Company of San Francisco, to get possession of forty-five acres of ocean beach. No, the government is not going to build a health resort for the poor; it wants the land for a massive barracks and fort to "protect us against foreign invasion!"—and to divert our minds from capitalist invasion at home.

The Pennsylvania railroad is putting up a fine scheme to deceive the slaves in its employ and make them life prisoners in its service. After several years' consideration, we are told, think of it—several years' consideration—this company has decided (how magnanimous) to create a pension and superannuation fund for the benefit (mark you, the benefit!) of its employees. It is understood that 70 years has been fixed upon as the age for compulsory retirement (of those that are not killed), and that employees who have been 30 years in the service, but have not attained that age, will be entitled to the benefits of the fund. And the deplorable thing is that enough "jays" will be found to create the fund by 30 years' service and praise their "benefactors" for allowing them some of its "benefits."

The average business man is trying hard to persuade himself that the talk about prosperity is all right, and is waiting for the "wave" to strike him. But many of them know it is all humbug and among themselves do not hesitate to say so. A few days ago a Chicago firm sent out a circular letter soliciting trade and containing this wholesome confession: "The business man no longer takes a rest in summer; he can't afford to; the 'other fellow' might get the trade." And it is a fact that nearly every man who received that circular recognized the truth in this statement, and instead of getting any encouragement from the old business maxim with which the letter started out, viz., "Keeping everlastingly at it brings success," was able to say, "No matter how we keep at it, business is a losing game for most of my class." But still they refuse to learn anything and wait for the "wave."

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THE "REFORMER'S" WINDMILLS

Trusts are the creatures of economic conditions and changes.

Private trusts, carried on for private profit, can never meet the needs of the people.

The trust is a necessary outcome of industrial development; it is also the necessary precursor of social ownership of productive capital.

The history of economic development is on every hand marked by the downfall of the small producer; the trust is here as a result of this development.

We have reached the trust stage as a result of outgrowing primitive methods of production; we will reach the stage of social production and distribution as a result of outgrowing the trust.

As the trust narrows the field of individual effort, it widens the prospect for social effort; thus the processes of economic change bring their compensations and "the way out" is made clear to the Socialist.

One may be helped to understand the certainty of the passage from industry under trust management for profit to industry as a social function, by trying to figure out how society can revert to the day of small production and individual competition.

When trusts are national and international, and all the people are benefited—that is, when the trusts are socialized—the money question and the land question will both be settled, and they will not be settled before.

You will never settle the labor problem with a single tax on land values and a retention of wages and competition; the problem will be settled by the trusts, which have a long lead on tax reformers on that proposition.

The evolution of the trusts from private hands to social administration is no problem at all; it is a socially necessary process, and what is socially necessary will come—is coming while you are calling for "reform." You might as well sit down and whittle a stick.

Trusts can not be prevented by legislation—the combination for effective and economical production is certain; hence the trusts are marked for social ownership and administration. See?

It is a perfectly easy matter at the present stage for trust managers to act within lawful and constitutional limitations, and continue the work they are doing for the ultimate economic freedom of all men in Socialism.

"These combinations are injurious to the small manufacturers and traders," said W. R. Hornblower the other day before the Pennsylvania State Bar Association. But progress has always been injurious to somebody, and no human ingenuity has been able to prevent it. No scheme of reform ever proposed can save the pessimists from the glorious freedom ahead for us all.

As the great modern steam engine or labor-saving machine are not the products of an individual brain or of individual exertion, but are saturated with social effort and are social products, so the trust is not the invention of an individual mind, but is the outgrowth of all the experience and training of generations of human activity; it is a social growth and necessity and is here as the best thing for the place it occupies.

Referendum in Switzerland

Comrade Heath asserts that at present, until the arrival of the Socialist state, direct legislation would "embarrass the Socialist advance," and his chief argument, as he claims, is "that direct legislation would fix the minds of the people upon an interminable number of petty measures and take their attention away from revolutionary principles." This assertion is, however, by no means borne out by the facts of the case. Let me, for the information of Comrade Heath and other comrades, who might not be aware of the real state of things, describe the practical working of the system in that best and purest of all modern republics, Switzerland.

The referendum in Switzerland is either obligatory or optional. It is optional in the federation and the more conservative states (cantons), obligatory in the more radical and democratic. Under the optional system, one bill, on the average the chief bill, of course, is submitted to the people each year. This is not exactly what Com. Heath calls "an interminable number of petty measures."

Let us now see whether the people are confused by numberless petty measures in the radical states, where the referendum is obligatory. In these states the people pass judgment annually upon six or eight bills, never upon the petty measures, always upon the principal, as in the very nature of things it could not be otherwise.

The education which this constant participation of the people in the work of legislation is conferring upon them is very great, and is ten times more valuable than the one that the mere voting for persons gives us. In fact, experience amply proves that the representative system, whatever else it might have accomplished, has lamentably failed in the great task of educating the people. The shocking ignorance of the people, which Comrade Heath and myself equally deplore, is the best proof of how completely the representative system failed after two centuries of existence in America. The people have a right to make laws, but under the representative system this right is to a very great extent a mere sham.

Comrade Heath says: "It is a good plan to feel that there is nothing too sacred in Socialism to be discussed." I agree with him, and believe this discussion to be very useful. But let me tell him that, whilst fully recognizing his right to attack the cherished principles of Socialists, I must claim for myself and others not only the right, but the sacred duty to defend these principles from each and every kind of attack.

I must also disagree with the statement of Comrade Heath that representative government had abolished chattel slavery in this country. No, it was abolished by the agency of the civil war, which is only another name for a revolution. And if in some countries parliaments have done it, then we must not forget that they have done it on outrageous terms, so far as public interests are concerned. Witness the enormous purchase money paid to the slaveholders by the English government. Would Comrade Heath rejoice at the nationalization of the land, say, accomplished by paying to the present owners enormous pensions and compensation out of present taxation?

Remember also, that even a despot like the Russian czar has also abolished chattel slavery on these very advantageous terms to the privileged owners. In conclusion let me say a few words on the defense of the Fabian society by my opponent. Comrade Heath says: "The only crime the Fabians have committed lies in having aided in making Socialism in England popular." No, comrade, this is not their crime. In so far as they have accomplished this, and I fully admit that to a great extent they have indeed accomplished it, in so far, I say, they deserve nothing but praise. But in addition to this laudable work they have done some other things. For instance, they have celebrated the Royal Jubilee of Queen Victoria, to the great disgust of the great majority of Socialists. Their constant attacks on the referendum, initiative and election of judicial and executive officers by popular vote can also be looked upon as dictated by the same spirit that caused them to celebrate the queen's jubilee, a spirit which, I am sorry to say, can very fittingly be described as reactionary.

New York. S. Reches.

BOOK REVIEWS

We have received a pamphlet of 263 pages from the publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, price 50 cents, entitled, "The Pure Causeway," written by Evelyn Harvey Roberts and dedicated to Prof. Geo. D. Herron.

It is a Christian Socialist work, filled with the same spirit and written along the same lines as pursued by Prof. Herron. The style is fluent and interesting.

It is a recitation of experience by former collegiate companions after facing the world a few years. The author points out that under the competitive system a Socialist life is impossible; that the contamination of the capitalist system absolutely prevents it, and that it is only possible when collectivism, or the co-operative commonwealth, shall have become a realization.

It urges strongly the despondent and the lagging to active industrial efforts in the propaganda of Socialism and for associated efforts.

The church as an institution and organization, is calmly but strongly criticised for its passive and active toleration of "wickedness in high places," "lack of ideas, courage, and independence," and its stereotyped charity, hypocrisy and attitude toward labor, and its opposition to the higher spiritual and economic ideal or better life.

This work is well adapted to egotistic but sincere church attendants and communicants, especially all those Christians who are trying to find some way, consistent with their theory of the Scriptures, to be of some use to humanity while on earth.

It is replete with biblical quotations, and while broadening the horizon of those who would save the world by trying always to save themselves at humanity's expense, will give a new light to those who fail to understand "that those who seek to save their own lives shall lose it."

This is a good book for your orthodox friends. Seymour Stedman.

A smart young swell was bantering a young woman on her suffrage aspirations. "What would you women do if you did get into politics?" he demanded. "I'll tell you of one thing," she replied. "Give us control of London, and we'd have the streets clean."

"By George!" he exclaimed, opening his eyes wide, "I never thought of that; I believe you would."

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

A Healthy Graveyard

It was in the village graveyard,
Underneath the spreading trees,
And the leaves were rustled gently
By the reverential breeze.

When the funeral was over,
All the people lingered 'round;
Some to gossip with a neighbor,
Some to sadly watch the mound.

In the course of conversation
With a mourner standing by,
"It's a lovely spot, and quiet,
To be buried in," said I.

Gazing 'round upon the tombstones,
The old farmer turned to me,
And with humor all unconscious,
"It's a healthy spot," said he.

Soon I turned my footsteps homeward,
Thinking of the quaint reply,
Wondering which were greater favored,
They who live, or they who die.

For I thought about the struggle
To obtain a daily crust;
How the living toiler struggled,
Battling here, law and lust.

In the graveyard all was beauty,
Flowering shrub and placid pool;
In the workshops of the living
Din and dirt and discord rule.

So this earth, by mammon mastered,
With its ranks of the unfed,
Is a good place to be buried,
For it's healthy for the dead!

Prosperous Poverty

It was in a country office
That I met a country man,
Who discoursed upon the merits
Of the competition plan.

"You are old," said I, "and frugal,
You have been both strong and true;
What has competition given
To a workman like you?"

"Me? Why, I cannot complain, sir,
To a very great extent;
Two wives I have had and buried,
And I do not owe a cent!"

"You have had too much good fortune;
Better far to only thrive
Just enough to make a living,
And to keep one wife alive!"

There is many a toiling worker
Who in daily labor sweats,
Who is perfectly contented
If he just can lift his debts.

All of life is not existence,
Not the feeding of a fire;
Nor should business be a balance
On a slack industrial wire.

Shame upon the men of muscle,
Toiling on in dirt and grime,
Whose sole object is existence,
Whose contentment is their crime!

Let us strike, then, for our earnings;
Let us spurn a hireling's wage;
Then, and then alone, shall labor
Reach the long-sought Golden Age.

A Patriotic Partisan

Walking on a country pathway,
In a place not on the map,
I got into conversation
With a wizened-up old chap.

We were talking things politic,
Of the battle of the Bills,
Of the threadbare money-question,
Of the real industrial ills.

His opinions were so hazy
That I asked of him at last,
"What do you yourself believe in,
How will your vote, sir, be cast?"

"I don't know what I believe in,
What my views are," quoth the man,
"But I know this much, by jingo,
I'm a straight Republican!"

Foolish? Only just as foolish
As the most of those who vote,
Who believe that virtue lieth
In the wearing of a coat.

Spite of all the world's advancement,
Spite of changes of today,
Still they keep on voting blindly
In the old ancestral way.

Treading on a living question,
Trading on a dying fame,
Stiffing every new-born issue
With the dust from ancient name.

Straight Republicans are crooked
If they simply serve their clan;
Loyal partisans are traitors
If they are not true to man.

—Merlin.

The Milwaukee Central Committee will hold a picnic Sunday, August 20, at Schneider's Park. Thirty-fifth and Vliet streets. Every effort will be made to make it enjoyable for all who attend.

One hour's solicitation per week for The Herald would do wonders. Some give it. Do you?

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

CALIFORNIA
Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock at 117 Turk St. Public invited. Secretary, Val Britton, 117 Turk St.

COLORADO
Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 1 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1739 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT
Branch 2 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in each month at 299 State St. S. M. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Frank St.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Green's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 204 Wentworth St.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nag's Hall, 435 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, Václav Jelinek, 435 Blue Island Ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2d and 4th Monday of each month at Jas. Dundras' place, 1080 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 299 State St. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1445 Fulton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Webster street. Secretary, Paul Chlapack, 47 Ruble St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street.

Branch 9, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 1st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westline, Sec'y, 6242 Center Ave.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichel's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 311 W. German St. Secretary, Frank McGee, 148 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 22 Summer St., near Market St., business meetings every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 332 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 59 Chelsea St. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster St., Sec.

Branch No. 3, Massachusetts, Brockton—meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 332 W. Elm street.

Branch 21, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 72 Ash street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 West Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Hallie, 2 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main street. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val. Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

St. Louis Central Branch, composed of all members in St. Louis, meets every 3rd Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m., at Aschenbroedel Hall, 604 Market St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.

Branch 7, New York, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1230 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1230 W. 9th street, Sec.

NEW YORK
Branch 10 (4 Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Farnon, 141 E. Broadway, Org.

East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 112 Clinton St. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch 3, New York (21st Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 34 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th st., Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor" at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 331 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Branch No. 21, New York (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1351 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, H. Hoppe, 225 E. 8th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street in the Social Democratic League rooms. Alex. Kahn, 118 Broome St., secretary.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 2 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 8, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Saturday, in Workmen's Hall, 1213 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1214 Walnut St.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at 7:30 p. m., State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 23 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk Hall, South 24th and Josephine sts. President, W. Bohn, 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 223 Jane st.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 614 South Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 555 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, B. 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday of each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigels Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windlake avenue.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, Wis., meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwärts," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterlein hall 77 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the 1st Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 614 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 15 cents per hundred copies.

Branch Notes

Branch 8 of Ohio, Cincinnati, has doubled its membership in a few weeks and a systematic plan of work is in operation. The branch is also raising a propaganda fund preparatory to co-operation with other branches in the state, to effect a state organization.

New York Notes

A meeting was held Friday evening, August 11, at Webster Hall, 140th street and 3rd avenue, for the purpose of organizing the Thirty-fourth Assembly District.

Organization of the Fourth and Eighth Assembly Districts has been effected and the work is to be extended. There is every reason to believe that the first annual picnic today, August 12, at Fort Wendell Park, will be a grand success.

The New York comrades held a meeting in Rutgers Square to manifest their sympathy with the street railway men, Comrades Barondess and London being the speakers. Comrade George Finger presided and, although the weather was bad, not less than 500 listened to the addresses.

New Branches

The new branches this week are in the West and Middle States. At Columbus, Branch No. 10 of Ohio has been organized and is ready to co-operate with other branches in the State to effect a State Union. Officers have been elected as follows: Chairman, A. J. Greene; vice-chairman, J. L. Bachman; secretary, A. S. Lightwater; treasurer, H. S. Swank; organizer, Mark Wild.

The comrades will be glad to learn that a new branch with a good list of active working members has been instituted at Seattle, Wash. It is the beginning of a vigorous and influential movement in the Queen City of the Sound. Meetings of the branch will be held every Monday evening at Theosophical Hall, Third and Spring streets, Seattle. The following officers have been elected: Chairman, W. W. Mallory; vice-chairman, L. W. Kidd; secretary, Henry Knist; treasurer, Wm. Blase; organizer, J. T. Oldham.

The Propaganda Fund

What can the Branch members do for the propaganda fund? Perhaps we can best get an answer to that question by understanding what one branch has done for the fund. It answers the questions to do. The Branch at Rockville, Conn., is not large, and is often heard from, but it has an earnest and devoted membership with an understanding of the difficulties incidental to the work of a national movement and the disposition to help with small contributions in meeting them. Beginning on the 3rd of July and continuing once every week during the month the members of this Branch made five weekly contributions to the fund ranging from 5 to 20 cents per member, and at the end of the month forwarded to headquarters a total of \$14.25. This is what one branch consisting of hard working members has done already and noting what it proposes to do. The small contributions of a nickel and a dime regularly given by all the Branches would give the national executive board an effective fund for propaganda purposes and support organizers in the field. The Rockville branch proposes to do this for six months.

Brockton, Mass.

Since my last letter the members of Branch 9 have increased their activity to a very noticeable degree and when it is remembered that they were a pretty active crowd before it means considerable gains to our great cause.

Our meetings of the branch have been crowded regardless of weather or conditions, and the result has been a campaign of education that has astonished everybody. Comrade Carey came here and spoke at our third open air meeting. Everybody knows what this comrade can do when he gets started, and when any speaker has 3,500 people stand attentively and heartily applaud everything he says, he cannot fail to do his best.

And Comrade Carey set many a man and woman to thinking on that night as he has many times before. We have, as we expected, organized a hustling branch at Campello, which starts out with a membership of twenty-eight, most of whom are new members and men who will certainly add very materially to the movement.

The different ward committees of our City Committee are arranging for meetings in their different wards for the purpose of planning an effective campaign and to get in touch with all the membership so that none but the very best men shall be nominated for office in the fall campaign. We do not propose that any man's personal ambition shall be his passport to office in our movement. The only ambition we encourage is the ambition to excel in the missionary work of our noble cause, and we flatter ourselves that our branch is composed of only this kind of workers.

We are taking in members at every meeting, in fact, I do not remember a meeting when we have not added to our membership.

At our last meeting Comrade Burke, of Rockland, gave us a very entertaining address in verse.

Before closing I desire to state that the button designed by Comrade Drake

is now the property of the branch, having been endorsed by the branch, and any comrade desiring a sample of what we consider a very neat design can secure one by addressing N. L. Drake, Brockton, Mass.

C. H. Coulter.

Wholesale Murder

The Freeman's Labor Journal, Spokane, Wash., prints the following letters, with the statement that they are genuine:

Wallace, Idaho, June 18, 1899.
Mr. J. Lacy, Engineer, Marysville, Mont.:

Dear Sir: We want to get five or six locomotive engineers to come to Burke to run the Tiger and Poorman pumps. Wages are \$375. There is no trouble here. The anarchists are all in the prison, 325 of them. Fifty of them will be hung. One hundred of them will get life in the penitentiary; the rest of them will get from ten to fifty years. The women will all be put in the county poorhouse. I will guarantee you all absolute protection. We expect to make the Coeur d'Alenes as safe as any part of the United States. Bring six good men. Wire me when you are ready to start and I will send you transportation.

J. G. Boyd,
General Agent, N. P.
Marysville, Mont., June 25, 1899.

J. G. Boyd, Wallace, Idaho:
Yours of the 18th at hand and contents noted. I am sorry you have such an opinion of me. When I want to go scabbing I will let you know. Now, I will give you a little advice—before you get through with this you will wish your name was Jackie Pants instead of Jackie Boyd. You have lots to learn yet. Respectfully yours,
L. Lacy,
Ex-Engineer N. P. R. R.



WINFIELD P. PORTER
CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Social Democratic Party
ELECTIONS, 1899

Maryland State Ticket

For Governor
LEVIN T. JONES

For Comptroller
JOS. C. FOWLER

For Attorney-General
CHARLES B. BACKMAN

For Judge Court of Appeals
E. H. WENZEL

For Clerk City Court
SAMUEL R. ANGEL

Massachusetts State Ticket

For Governor
WINFIELD P. PORTER

For Lieutenant-Governor
ISAAC W. SKINNER

For Secretary of State
CHARLES H. BRADLEY

For Treasurer
C. W. WHITE

For Attorney-General
ADDISON W. BARR

For Auditor
ANGUS McDONALD

BOSTON

PROPAGANDA FUND.

"Appeal to Reason".....	\$1.00
Eugene V. Debs.....	.50
Carlton V. Wells.....	.25
P. P. Ayer.....	.25
Max Sand.....	1.00
W. L. Hamilton.....	.15
Adolph Dietrich.....	1.00
D. Bolenstein.....	.10
A. Schwartz.....	.10
Max Sand.....	.10
Nilsa Menchenbach.....	1.00
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, Wis.....	2.00
A. C. Boston.....	.25
Baile.....	.25
Abt. Wolfin.....	1.00
Morris Saml.....	.50
K. Ramo.....	.50
Julius Robinson.....	.50
E. Ziegler.....	1.00

The following amounts collected by Local Branch No. 6, Rockville, Conn.:

Emil Otto.....	.50
Henry Roan.....	.25
Chas. Hempel.....	.25
Chas. Schmidt.....	.50
Henry Fahl.....	.25
Ridi Otto.....	.25
Alma Otto.....	.50
Freda Otto.....	.25
Paul Fleischer.....	1.00
Chas. Baer.....	.50
Franz Niederwerfer.....	.50
Mich Niederwerfer.....	.50
Ang. Kellner.....	.50
Nilsa Menchenbach.....	.50
Lydla Menge.....	.25
Adolph Friedrich.....	.50
Frank Lange.....	.50
Gust. Friedrich.....	.50
Zorn. Otto Jr.....	.50
Henry Krieger.....	.50
Oskar Menge.....	.50
Chas. Baer.....	.50
Adolph Gundermann.....	.25
Robert Schultze.....	.25
Fred Martin.....	.50
Paul Otto.....	.50
H. Friedrich.....	.50
Julius Friedrich.....	.50
Ang. Spielman.....	.50
Herman Brueske.....	.50
Lonis Schultze.....	.25
Rick Otto.....	.25
Total.....	\$26.22

THE MAN WITH A SWORD

Suggested to the author while looking at the photograph of a former schoolmate, dressed in a colonel's uniform and proudly holding a sword (emblem of legal murder) in his hand.

I saw a dark man standing leaning on his polished sword,
Grim-visaged and so cruel, and with sinews like a chord;
With a mouth so wide and cruel, and lips so dry and hard,
With eyeballs red with blood-shot, and of cunning underneath;
With a jaw like vise of iron, cheeks rough and deeply scarred;
And weak men all around him standing trembling at his frown,
Yet, in their coarse hands calloused, they had offered him a crown.

Again I viewed him closer, down to his bloody shoes,
All iron-shod and grimy and spiked at heel and toes;
I looked again and shuddered, and fain would turn away,
For there beneath him, lying, in last stages of decay,
Were skulls of youths and babies, of women and of men,
And thighbones crushed and broken, and vertebra; and then
Those weak men, bent and fawning, like poor slaves kneeling down,
Turning their starved faces and tendered him a crown.

"Who are you? beast, or devil, from ancient Hebrew hell?"
I cried in object terror. His blood-shot eyes then fell
Upon me, filled with murder, and, in tones so deep and cold,
He said, "I am the ruler of all the world—behold!
This very elevation on which my shod feet stand
Is made of skulls and thighbones of men slain by my hand;
Of fathers, mothers, children, who, 'gainst my rule rebelled;
In the name of God and Freedom, by thousands they were felled."

"I have no love, religion; yet all these cringing slaves
Have dogmas forced upon them, in preference to knives.
The creed they are embracing as the gospel of our age
Was long ago their father's choice 'twixt dogma and the sword.
I have been trained for killing; I long for blood and war;
I gladly do my duty for a president or czar.
And, if successful, butcher, pulpit ring with my renown,
And my sword shall serve them—brats of servile, cringing slaves;
They are better in their coffins, rotting in their shallow graves.
And yet they seem to love me, though they tremble at my frown;
A successful human butcher—lo, they offer me a crown!"

"I am neither beast nor devil, but a soldier, brave and true,
Sworn to serve my great plume masters, like a patriot should do.
I am watchdog for their plunder, killing all who interfere,
In the name of God and Justice, heeding neither groan nor tear.
And the bones that rot beneath me are of rebellious slaves
Who were not even worthy of the honored soldiers' graves;
And my red trail back through ages is a trail of human blood.
Shed to serve the great plume masters, in the name of Mammon's god."

"Beast you are!" I cried, "or devil," as I waved aside his hand.
"Earth should offer you no mission—you should live among the damned;
I would rather touch a viper than a beast who boasts of blood—
A beast who boasts of murder in the name of Mammon's god.
And your red trail back through ages, where the tolling millions fell,
Midst the bleaching bones of nations, making it should lead on to a seedling reared by men whose hearts you wrung.
And there, amidst songs of gladness, you should properly be hung."

JACOB HUFF.

SILVER-PLATED SOCIALISM

III.

Reading over Mr. Bonsall's third article on money, I anxiously looked for some new "contradictions" discovered by my esteemed opponent in my writings, and was delighted not to find any. But I therefore made some other quite startling discoveries. It appears that Mr. Bonsall is against the metallic system of money in principle, and considers bimetalism preferable to monometallism as the lesser of the two evils. My esteemed opponent turns out to be, properly speaking, a greenbacker pure and simple. He wants the elimination of metallic money "from the mints of money coinage" and the replacement of it by a perpetual "truly scientific (?) representative (?), economic, socialistic (?) system of paper money, which would be the incarnation of equitable function and use (?), by actually being a certificate of useful service parted with, as it (?) should be, universally." I do not dare to attempt to analyze the rather careless English of that remarkable sentence, although I fail to comprehend what Mr. B. means by the term "representative" (of what?), doubt the correctness of the expression, "incarnation of equitable use," and to not understand what the "it" relates to at the conclusion of the sentence. In one point I, however, agree with Mr. B., namely, that greenbacks are very economic, that means their issue by the state does not cost much, paper being exceedingly cheap.

It is rather discouraging to contemplate, that at the close of the nineteenth century there may still arise a necessity to argue against paper money systems. But prejudices perpetuate themselves like hereditary diseases, and tedious as it usually is, we cannot avoid fighting them over and over again. Mr. B. claims that paper money, without any other foundation besides the sanction of the state, is "truly scientific and socialistic." Is it? Adhering to my resolution, expressed in my reply to Mr. B.'s second article, I will cite recognized socialistic authorities. Says Kautsky: "Paper money depreciates when issued in excessive quantities. That takes place now in Russia, where the state paper money stands the last thirty years below its nominal value. The most gigantic example of such devaluation of paper money, in consequence of measureless issues of assignats (paper notes), furnished the great French Revolution. Of the 45,581 millions francs issued (from 1790 till March, 1797) during seven years, into circulation—all depreciated

totally." And here is a quotation from K. Marx, that seems to be written expressly for the kind of "socialists" Mr. B. represents: "The question, why money does not represent directly the working time (remember my esteemed opponent's 'useful services parted with!'), so, for instance, that a paper note should represent hours of work—leads simply to the question, why the products of labor are bought to appear as wares on the basis of ware production, because the presentation of a ware includes its doubling as a ware and money ware. I have more minutely criticised the shallow utopianism of the 'labor money' on the basis of ware production, in another place. (Zur Kritik der Politischen Oeconomie, 1859, p. 61). Let it be stated here, that, for instance, Owen's 'labor money is just as little 'money' as a theater ticket.' In other words, metallic money is the natural outcome of the ware (our capitalistic) system. When the ware system will be replaced by a higher type of an economic system, the money problem will take, of course, a different aspect. The kind reader may now form his own conclusion on the question, if Mr. B. is justified in claiming for his greenback system the titles of 'scientific' and 'socialistic.' My esteemed opponent claims that 'history disproves' my assertion, that the price of gold is comparatively (with silver, of course) stable. Does he then put forward as proofs comparative tables of prices of both precious metals during a long series of years, or at least quote some unquestionable financial authority? Nothing of that kind. He simply cites a few sentences snatched out of a speech of 'Senator' John A. Logan, showing that, 'compared with our greenback currency,' gold was extremely unstable. Mr. B. obviously has a great respect for congressmen, senators and other high dignitaries. The writer of these lines, however, is a real iconoclast in that respect and wants for his authorities a recognized scientific reputation. But as the senator talks about the comparative stability of the prices of gold and greenbacks, while I had in view silver, his testimony, even if it would carry the weight of authority with it (which it does not), would be irrelevant in that case.

Did I ever read the certainly apocryphal Luckenbach's affidavit? Of course not. My time is too valuable to be wasted on reading gossip, even if uttered under oath by men whom Mr. B. considers 'honorable, truthful and reliable,' before a supreme court of the United States.

Quite original is the following argument of Mr. B. He makes the gold standard responsible for any fluctuation in prices of commodities, because 'it is money of final redemption, according to the monometallists.' From all the gems of logic displayed by our esteemed opponent it is, may be, the most precious. Indeed, he concludes from the fluctuation in prices of commodities (pig iron, copper, wheat) that the gold standard is less conducive to the stability of prices than greenbacks. And a few lines above that sentence Mr. B. cites Senator Logan's speech, in which he, among other things, states: 'The price of gold is regulated just as the price of any other article of merchandise—by the supply and demand.' Why, then, in the name of common sense, is the gold standard responsible for any fluctuations in the prices of pig iron, copper and wheat? Did Mr. B. try to prove that the supply and demand of these commodities remained the same all the time while their prices fluctuated? No. He did not attempt to do anything of that kind, but simply jumped at his conclusion. Afterwards my esteemed opponent, with truly Bryanistic logic, assails trusts, banks, the concentration of wealth, and declares that all these evils 'have been aggravated by the single gold standard, to defend which is intellectual, social and economic madness.' Mr. B. obviously gave here simply vent to his feelings of righteous indignation in general, as he fails to specify why he thinks that the standard of value has anything whatever to do with it. His truly Jeremian prediction of a tremendous 'panic explosion' owing to the same standard is one inspiring, of course.

But his 'earnest hope that I shall yet comprehend the vital, far-reaching difference between bank currency (about which there was not a word exchanged so far in the controversy!) and government legal tender money, as well as the difference between bimetalism and monometallism' is simply touching. It shows that Mr. B. does not consider me beyond redemption and salvation. I therefore take courage to express in my turn the earnest hope that he will come finally to the conclusion that paper money is not socialistic money, that even if it would be socialistic it could not be introduced in a society founded on the ware system, and, above all, that bimetalism is simply an absurdity and a fraud.

I. Ladoff.

Milwaukee, Wis.

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